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*The Monroe Doctrine.* By W. F. REDDAWAY, B.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1898. Pp. vii, 162.)

FROM the historical standpoint this is the most valuable contribution to the literature of the Monroe Doctrine which has yet appeared. With due deference to the philosophy of history the author states in the opening chapter, entitled "The Postulates of the Monroe Doctrine," the events beginning with the peace of 1763 after the termination of the Seven Years' War, which led to the Declaration of 1823, while most writers upon the subject treat the Declaration as a naked proposition with little reference to a cause. Mr. Reddaway is a scholar of keen discernment and thorough in investigation. He exhibits a knowledge of American history very creditable to a foreigner and he shows a discriminating judgment and great accuracy of analysis in the presentation of the instances in which the Doctrine has been applied or invoked.

The following passage from the preface is a succinct statement of the author's views: "Nothing newly published has seemed to the author to render necessary any modification of the main conclusions of the essay:—that the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine was gradual; that the peculiar form of the Message of 1823 was due to John Quincy Adams; that he, and he alone, logically applied it in politics; and that it produced its desired effect as an act of policy, but in no way modified the Law of Nations. The recent policy of the United States towards both Cuba and Hawaii appears to add strength to the argument of the last chapter—that since 1829 appeals to the Doctrine have been regulated by neither the nature nor the limits of the original."

By the student of American history the portrayal on pages 30–34 of the respective characteristics of President Monroe and John Quincy Adams, his Secretary of State, must be regarded not merely as a striking picture but as the very perfection of antithesis.

In the chapter which treats of the occupation of Mexico by the French during our Civil War are these words, particularly significant at the present time: "Every power, as a member of the international police, has the right to interfere in behalf of any nation which it may deem to be oppressed."

While it is to be regretted that by some oversight a table of contents is omitted, and while the book is perhaps too profound for the casual reader, it will doubtless be regarded as a classic by those who take more than a passing interest in the subject.

GEORGE FOX TUCKER.

*The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest.* By THEODORE CLARKE SMITH, Ph.D. [Harvard Historical Series, VI.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1897. Pp. xi, 351.)

THE history of the Liberty and Free Soil parties of the Northwest by Theodore Clarke Smith is a timely and valuable contribution to our po-

litical annals. The title of the book might well have been "the genesis of the Republican party," for it sets forth clearly the causes which found their natural outcome in the grand movement that rallied under Fremont in 1856, and triumphed under Lincoln in 1860. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise played an important part in rousing the people and speeding the march of events, but it was merely an incident, as Mr. Smith shows, of the concerted measures which had already been set on foot for the formation of a consolidated national anti-slavery party that was to supersede all previous organizations. In the light of these facts, it seems surprising that the beginnings of anti-slavery politics in the Northwest have hitherto been unexplored. The work has probably been slighted as belonging to the field of local history; but the principle of hostility to slavery was not local. It touched the national life, as history testifies, and the men of the Northwest were helping to lay the foundations of a world-famous movement. What they did is worthy of historical record, and the record is now made.

The writing of such a history called for patient industry and tireless labor. It involved much travel through the Northwestern states; correspondence with anti-slavery pioneers and their descendants, and personal intercourse with them; the search for important facts in many public libraries; the thorough overhauling of the files of many old newspapers; and the orderly combination of the material thus gathered into an adequate and faithful account of an important historic movement. All this work is well done. Mr. Smith writes in sympathy with his subject. He seems, indeed, to have entered into the spirit of his task as if he had been himself a party to the strifes and struggles he describes; and yet his judicial temper is never found wanting. He deals fairly and even kindly with the old parties. He frankly takes note of the mistakes and short-sightedness of the Free Soil leaders touching their coalitions with Whigs and Democrats; and he criticises both Liberty party men and Free Soilers for their faults of temper and harshness of speech in dealing with their opponents. But he recognizes their courage and zeal in standing by a great cause in the day of its weakness and in the face of insurmountable obstacles. "For a young voter," says Mr. Smith, "or a young aspirant for political honors to cast in his lot with the third party was at almost any time and in almost every state an act of heroic self-abnegation. As we read of committees and nominations, and tickets and campaigns, we forget that nearly all of these meetings and urgent appeals were the laughing-stock of both the regular organizations; that the Liberty leaders, and nearly all of the Free Soil leaders, were cut off from any hope of election to any office in the gift of the people. Mistakes and miscalculations and intemperance of language were effaced by the magnificent purpose to arouse the nation to a consciousness of its own guilt and danger from slavery." The history of such a party is a fascination. We read it in the illumination of great historic facts which owe their lineage to the courage, constancy and self-forgetfulness of men who made themselves of no reputation in the service of the truth. Through a

series of years and in spite of overwhelming numbers and the greatest discouragements they prosecuted their purpose "with a step as steady as time." They were confronted by personal abuse, political proscription, and sometimes by mob violence; but they resolutely maintained their ground. Slowly, and little by little, they saw their cause advancing, never doubting its final triumph; and, at last, when the madness of slavery struck down the Missouri Compromise and flooded the country with anti-slavery recruits, they willingly disbanded the little parties in which they had so long labored, and joyfully took their places in the grand national movement which followed. All this is set forth in detail in Mr. Smith's chapters, and we hope they are to be followed by a like history of the Liberty and Free Soil parties of New England and the Middle States, and a final volume dealing with the formation of the national Republican party and its great work.

Mr. Smith confines himself exclusively to the question of political action against slavery. This is the novel feature of his work, but we think it adds to its timeliness and value. It touches a question about which there has been much controversy and some confusion of thought, and the truth ought to be told. That class of anti-slavery men who regarded the Federal Constitution as "a covenant with death," and whose consciences constrained them to abjure the use of the ballot, were obliged to do their work outside of politics. Their agitation was moral, and so far as it strengthened anti-slavery opinion it re-enforced the work of legislation; but anti-slavery opinion could not enforce itself. It needed some working theory giving assurance of results. The attempt to overthrow slavery without political action under a government carried on by the ballot was simply preposterous, while the dissolution of the Union would leave the slave in his chains. Nor could any citizen escape complicity with slavery by declining to vote. Total expatriation was necessary, and this was neither enjoined nor practised. We honor the great moral leaders whose unquestioned courage and devotion to humanity have done so much to efface their mistakes of judgment, and whose labors have been so abundantly recounted in our anti-slavery literature since the close of the Civil War; but the abolition of slavery was accomplished in spite of their theories, and by methods which they unsparingly condemned. History will so make the record, and we think the work so well begun by Mr. Smith may be accepted as an earnest of this consummation.

One of the most attractive features of this volume is its character-sketching. In the admirable account of the famous coalition in the Ohio legislature of 1848, by which the Free Soilers secured a United States senator, the reader will find better photographs of Salmon P. Chase and Joshua R. Giddings than he has ever seen before. Each of these famous men is made to stand forth in the lights and shadows of his character in his true attitude and real lineaments. A similar observation would apply, though in a less degree, to James G. Birney, as sketched in other parts of the volume. Mr. Smith's estimate of Samuel Lewis, of Ohio, is strikingly true, and it will gladden the heart of every surviving

friend of this most unselfish and unsullied anti-slavery hero; while he makes honorable mention of many inconspicuous but faithful laborers in the great cause whose right to historic recognition is properly asserted. The great leaders are duly honored; but so are the minor celebrities who gave their whole hearts to the work in counties and townships, including many editors of local newspapers who spent their little fortunes in the effort to propagate their principles. Without the labors of these men the great cause would have made little headway, and they should be honored as brave and faithful pioneers who opened the way for the armies that were to follow.

We think Mr. Smith's general fairness in dealing with the Anti-Nebraska movement in his nineteenth chapter needs a little qualification in his reference to Indiana on pp. 290 and 291. His tone seems rather too apologetic. The movement of 1854 was captured by Know Nothings and Silver Gray Whigs who completely subordinated the slavery issue to their longing for immediate success. There was a strong and growing anti-slavery feeling among the masses, but it was smothered by the mercenaries who managed the campaign. It ended in an overwhelming victory in which nothing was decided. The same game was played the following year and with like results, while even in 1856 a similar "combination of weaknesses" insulted political decency. In the state "fusion" convention of this year the name Republican was for the third time disowned, and Fillmore Knownothingism was recognized in the formation of the state ticket and the selection of presidential electors. Clay, Burlingame and other distinguished leaders of the Republican cause were not allowed to take the stump in the country south of the National Road where such speeches were imperatively needed, and the new movement was frequently defended as the "white man's party." Such facts should not be slighted, because they belong to the history of the Anti-Nebraska struggle, and show how fearful must have been the task of anti-slavery regeneration in that state.

A few slight inaccuracies may be cited. On page 6, Rev. W. H. Brisbane is mentioned as a native of North Carolina. It should be South Carolina. On p. 61, S. C. Stevens is referred to as residing in Madison County. His residence was the town of Madison, in Jefferson County. On the same page, "E. Deming, a lawyer," should read "E. Deming, a physician." On p. 130, Mayor J. B. Seamans is mentioned as presiding over a state convention at Indianapolis in July, 1848. He was not mayor of Indianapolis, but a journalist residing in La Fayette. On p. 237, "G. F. Vinton" should be "S. F. Vinton." On p. 269, L. D. Campbell is referred to as a Free Soiler in 1848; he was a Whig. The volume is well printed, and attractively presented in other respects, while in the matter of style, its chief fault is the lack of smoothness. This fault, however, was not easily avoided in a narrative abounding in so many particular facts and minute details.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.